Part 3
MIGRATION AND MORTALITY

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Chapter 9.
INTERNAL MIGRATION IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY NORWAY. AN OVERVIEW 1865 TO 1960

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At the national level, we can distinguish between three main flows of migrants: emigration, immigration and domestic migration. It is strange to what degree the first two flows have been the subject of summary Norwegian studies relative to the latter. Already shortly after the War, Ingrid Semmingsen published her comprehensive summary of US emigration in two volumes, a pioneering work also in an international context (Semmingsen 1941, Semmingsen 1950). And just after the turn of the millennium, immigrants received their three volume history, with the addition of a summary book in English - the result of a comprehensive team work (Kjeldstadli 2003, Brochmann and Kjeldstadli 2008). Although there are a number of local and regional studies of internal migration in Norway, we lack a broad summary overview. A brief and concise overview can be found on the website Norgeshistorie.no under the heading "On migration to and within Norway" authored by Jan Myhre, a prolific author of migration history. The website contains as much about the quantitatively modest immigration as about the extensive internal migration.[1] The only reference to the latter theme is to an edited book about the 19th century, mainly a collection of regional and local history articles (Gjerdåker 1981). These include local moving on the west coast, long distance migration from southern to northern Norway as well as labour migration in southern Norway. Three articles are based on the social history project about Ullensaker parish (with

[1] https://www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/kommunikasjon-og-kunnskap/1505-pa-flyttefot-til-og-innen-norge.html

Gardermoen airport) and Kristiania / Oslo. It is symptomatic that while there are master theses on emigration to America from both these places, the study planned to link the two subprojects – treating migration from Ullensaker to the capital, remains unwritten (Koren 1979, Østrem and Rinnan 1979). Internal migration is also absent as a topic in the recent history of vital statistics aggregates (Søbye 2014). A systematic search in the local history journal *Heimen* and the national *Historisk tidsskrift* until 2017 shows ten and two articles, and four and one, respectively, in which words with the texts "migrasjon" or "migr" appear in the title and refer to internal migration. This distribution shows the extent to which internal migration has been a local history theme. The text string "migr" otherwise occurs a lot in *Historisk tidsskrift* because of the many references to emigration on the national level.

The historiography looks somewhat better in our neighbouring countries. In particular, Russia is well covered due to the collaboration between a Russian historian and a migration historian, both teaching in the United States, resulting in a broad presentation of internal Russian migration in the 20th century (Siegelbaum and Moch 2014). Hans Christian Johansen overviewed internal migration in Denmark in two major works (1975, 2002). For Sweden, it is peculiar how the overview article about migration history in Wikipedia starts with emigration before treating immigration, so that internal migration implicitly is defined out of the migration concept.[2] However, internal migration was treated thoroughly in geographer Hägerstrand's work, which is fundamental also for international migration theory (Sundbärg 1910, Hägerstrand 1947, Hägerstrand 1953). Erik de Geer summarized internal migration in Sweden and Finland through most of the 1800s and 1900s in connection with his emigration studies (1977). For Finland, we have a summary of internal migration for the six decades before World War II (Jutikkala 1953) and a series of recent studies of the connection between migration and mortality (Saarela and Finnäs 2008). We can conclude that outside Denmark, summaries of internal migration history are in short supply in the Nordic region. Nevertheless, there is no shortage of sources to base this article on, which will mainly describe the evolution of internal migration from the census of 1865 and provide a history of important internal relocations. We ask the following research questions: Where and when did the main internal migration streams go? Did women or men constitute the majority at different times? What are the most important series of source materials?

[2] https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sveriges_migrationshistoria

Important internal migration currents

Sølvi Sogner's PhD work on population growth and migration based in Rendalen parish northeast of Oslo on the border with Sweden, was the earliest study of internal geographic mobility, and determined that the main direction has been from the inland towards the coastal areas for centuries (1979). To a greater extent than Michael Drake (1969), she accepted migration from Akershus province surrounding the capital to Northern Norway rather than underenumeration as the reason for the relatively larger population growth in the northernmost provinces according to the population censuses of 1779 and 1801. However, the lack of nominative data and a birthplace column in these censuses respectively, make it hard to quantify this issue thoroughly.

The Colonization of Northern Norway

The most comprehensive and most widely mentioned wave of internal migrants is that from South-Eastern Norway and Southern Trøndelag to the Målselv and Bardu valleys southeast of Tromsø. The land clearing in these valleys in the southern part of Troms province started in the era of mercantilism, and is linked to Bailiff Jens Holmboe who was born in Lesja, thus in the origin of this migration wave. In 1781 he was appointed as top administrator of the taxation district outside Tromsø - thus getting first hand knowledge of both the starting and ending points for the migrants. These territories have been described wrongly as virgin and unpopulated, but for a long time formed the boundary between Sami and Norwegian settlements. The Sami had used the valleys in annual trekking with their reindeer from the winter pastures in Inland Sweden to their summer camps by the Norwegian coast. These valleys bordered on Malangen, where fish-farmers have cultivated the land and fished at least since the mid-1600s. Thus, several of the first who travelled north settled in the extended areas surrounding the valleys, including the big island of Senja. Erik Dørrum's master thesis provides a detailed chronological overview of the settlements in Målselv valley, explaining how they were related by family ties, how some moved on, married and had children until 1835 based on church records, probate and land registers. For Bardu valley, there is a somewhat simpler list of settlers (Granlund 1975). The 1801 census lists the people living in the new settlements, in Bardu 74 people and in Målselv 263 with a significant surplus of men and a low average age, especially in Bardu – the most remote part. The farm cadastres of 1797 and 1807 show increas-

ing herds of horses, cattle, and that the settlers were pioneers when it came to potatoes and peas, while still holding on to grain cultivation, although it did not yield returns every year.

This pioneer immigration northwards continued until 1805, when 40 settlers had settled in the valleys, especially below the waterfalls. During the next fifteen years, only nine new colonists came, but in the 1820s this migration wave picked up new speed and a total of 159 colonists were counted in the numeric census of 1835. The migration was interrupted from the late 1790s since all state aid disappeared from 1797, along with a ban on the sale of timber from state forests and several years of failed harvests. It is apparent from the numeric population censuses 1815 to 1855 that the population in inland Troms grew slowly until the 1830s when it reached 1,000 inhabitants and the flow of migrants dried up. The easiest available market with the most heterogeneous business community close to the coast expanded faster than the settlements further inland, where we find a surplus of men through 1855. The lay preacher Hans Nielsen Hauge visited his most faithful congregation with advice on economic activities and suggesting well-sounding farm names until he was imprisoned for illegal sermons. It has probably happened that he sent bride candidates northwards, but the birthplaces of married women in the 1865 census suggests this to be mostly a myth– the surrounding province of Troms was a far more common birthplace.

The population grew until 1865, in the previous decade the increase was 914 extra persons when we treat the Målselv and Bardu valleys together. This was record growth, but not much greater than the population growth of 1846–1855 with 882 persons. Only from 1855, after the municipalities were split into separate parishes, is it easy to calculate the birth surplus from the church records (number of births minus the number of deaths in the same period).[3] The surplus was 707 inhabitants for the next decade and only slightly lower in the previous decade of 1846-1855. Thus, we see that fertility in the period 1846–1865 meant more than migration for the population development. If we assume that

[3] While Bardu and Målselv parish are marked in the baptismal lists for Ibestad and Lenvik before 1851/1853, this is not done in the respective funeral lists. By estimating a reasonable number of deaths, I calculate a birth aurplus of 644 people. The inhabitants of the most peripheral parts of inner Troms used churches in other priesthoods for baptism and burial (Volden 1979). This will lead to under-registration of the birth surplus, meaning that the culmination of the in-migration should be pushed even a few years back in time.

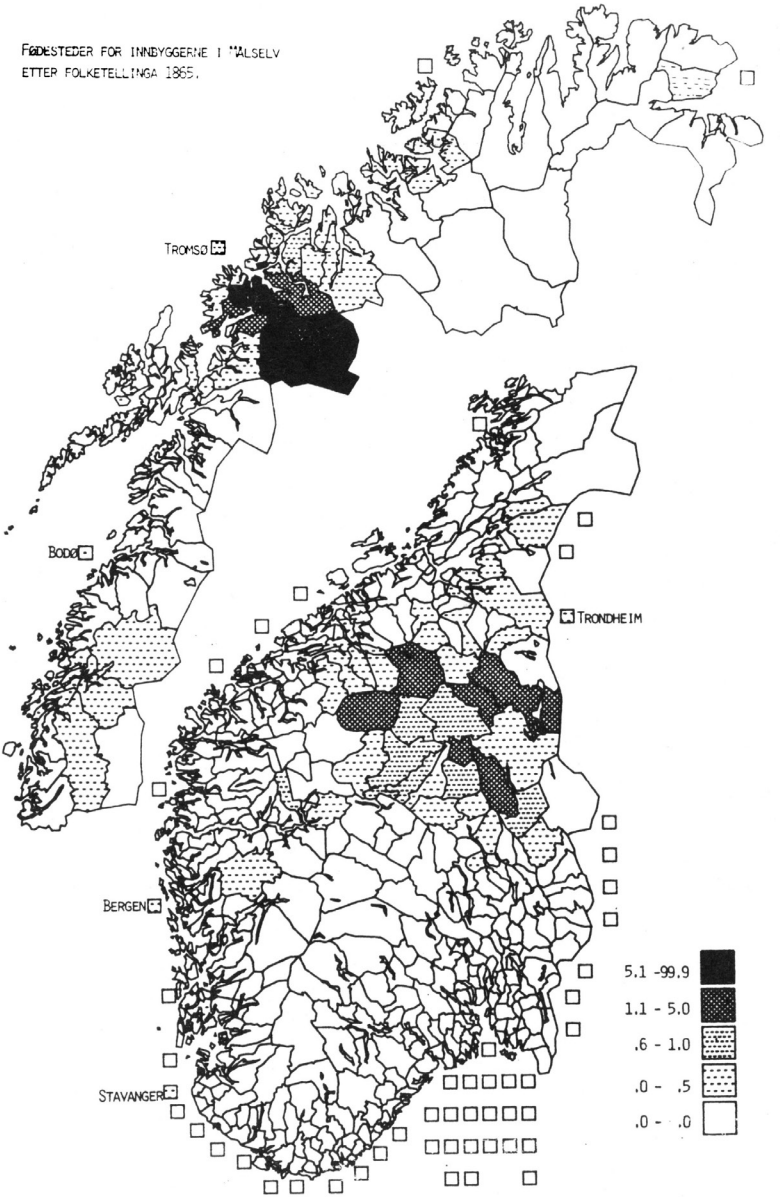

Figure 1. Birthplaces in the census 1865 for the population resident in Målselv and Bardu parishes

the birth surplus had increased as much as the number of people since the last decade, there is reason to believe that immigration was considerably higher before 1845 than afterwards, i.e. immigration to inland Troms culminated earlier, as the number of new homestead permissions show. Therefore, the average annual surplus of immigrants was less than 25 people a couple of decades after immigration into inland Troms culminated in the 1820s. From about 1865 the migration flow reversed. The valleys of Målselv and Bardu turned into an area with more out-migrants than in-migrants since towns and overseas areas became the main destinations.

The 1865 census was the first to give a detailed overview of residents' birthplaces. It shows that Inland Troms formed an exception to the general pattern that while the towns had a large proportion of in-migrants, most of the people were born where they resided in the rural parishes. Admittedly, non-migrants represented the majority also here according to the 1865 census, but like in many towns, there was almost equilibrium: About 43 percent were born elsewhere. 11% of the population were born elsewhere in Troms province, 14 % in Hedmark province, 5% in Oppland province and 4% in Trøndelag provinces; the three latter in southern Norway. Overall, birthplaces in northern Norway dominated in the valleys, with over 2/3 of the population in 1865. The 223 fathers from southern Norway had from one to nine children each, who in total constituted 624 second generation persons from the south, and with the second generation included, there was equilibrium between people originating in the southern and northern parts of Norway in 1865. The maps in figure 1 show where the inhabitants of Målselv and Bardu parishes were born in greater detail. Compilation of the birthplaces of the fathers and children can also be used to estimate the frequency of step migration. However, few stays along the way were so permanent that children resulted. Of 93 children born to fathers originating outside Målselv / Bardu, both generations were born in the same parish in 72 cases. Only one child born in Nordland and six children born in Tromsø can indicate step migration. In other words, it was far more common to establish a family before leaving from the south than to start family life along the way northwards.

Among the 1865 census aggregates there is a table indicating the type of birthplace (births in own parish, foreigners, born in a town and born in a rural area) for each parish. According to this, 17% of the inhabitants in the northernmost Nordland, Troms and Finmarken provinces were born in rural places without specifying in which part

of the country.[4] Two smaller migratory streams to Northern Norway have been subjected to detailed studies, one about migrants from Voss east of Bergen and one about relocation from Gudbrandsdalen north of Lillehammer to Salten (Hanssen 1979, Gjerdåker 1981). At the time, these students did not have nationally transcribed censuses at their disposal. The 1865 census lists 216 immigrants from Voss and Vossestrand to Northern Norway, 156 in Nordland, 56 in Troms and only 4 in Finnmark province – thus concentrated further south between Bodø and Harstad in Nordland province. Another stream ended in the 1800s in the Tverrelv valley in Alta in Finnmark province; there were 195 persons from southern Norway in Alta according to the 1865 census. Smaller groups were easily identified in other parishes, especially in neighbouring Troms province, e.g. 22 people born in Gudbrandsdalen residing in Lyngen parish east of Tromsø in 1865.

Yngve Nedrebø's theory of the migration from Sogn treats a theme at the intersection of internal relocation and emigration, showing that from the outer parts of Sognefjord, people moved primarily to other places in western Norway and preferably to Bergen, while the migrants from the inner parts of the Sognefjord more often ended up in America. This has been called the "uncle effect"; the rationale being that youngsters migrated to where older family members had moved earlier. The farmers from the inner parts of the fjord primarily wanted land and so emigrated, while the fishermen further west traditionally traded with Bergen and had a network of contacts there.

Forced Migration during World War II

Apart from the individual relocation of prisoners and persons with mental illness, migration under compulsion in modern times is linked to events during World War II. Most dramatic was the evacuation of nearly 50,000 people from northern Troms and major parts of Finnmark in the fall of 1944 after the Red Army liberated parts of Norway, but also the arrests of opponents against the Nazi regime with imprisonment in different camps reached a significant amount. Step migration with temporary residence inside Norway for the approximately 50,000 who fled to Sweden or the United Kingdom was also usual. Involuntary detention of the population of Telavåg south-west of Bergen in the spring of 1942

[4] The maps and the 1865 statistics are accessible via the internet in my article in the book *Folketellinger gjennom 200 år*, see url http://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/folketellinger-gjennom-200-aar?fane=om

included fewer persons (estimated at 341), but was all the more dramatic because of the destruction of the entire settlement as a vengeance for their relations with the United Kingdom. The shipment of almost 700 teachers to Kirkenes by the Russian border lasted more briefly, from mid-April to the autumn of 1942. The latter two deportations happened on the background of the Norwegian resistance struggle being stepped up, shortly after the expansion of WWII into the Soviet Union and the Pacific caused more desperate warfare from the Germans.

The destruction and migration of Telavåg

The two cases of forced geographic mobility in 1942 led to significant suffering for those involved. However, they were in principle fundamentally different because the people from Telavåg were migrants who had no residency to return to and were relocated for two years, while the teachers could return to their homes after half a year's temporary stay in Kirkenes. Like so many demographic factors in the period from 1920 to 1960, mobility during the war is an understudied area; the quantitative data in the historical literature are approximate and often inconsistent. This is due to the lack of record keeping during the War, and that the nominative manuscripts for the vital statistics and the censuses of 1920, 1930, 1946 and 1950 are difficult to utilize in the archives. The situation is now changing since much of the material has been scanned and posted on the web for certified researchers. Still, much of the evidence from the War rests on oral sources and accounts written by the migrants.

As to the male population from Telavåg, several texts indicate that 72 or 76 people aged 16 to 60 were sent to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen in Germany, where 31 of them died. An early presentation states that 260 women and children were detained in Norway, but it is unclear whether that figure includes men over 60 years (Christensen 1964, 91). The women and children first staid at Storetveit school outside Bergen and were then sent further east to Framnes Folk High School in Hardanger where they stayed for two years. The plans to send the women to forced labour in Eastern Norway were thwarted by medical doctors, exploiting the Germans' well-known fear of epidemics. After two years, most moved back to the Sotra island they came from, but everyone were banned from visiting their burnt-down Telavåg settlement for the remainder of the war. The surviving men were rescued from Germany with the white buses of the Swedish Red Cross. Telavåg was undoubtedly the southern Norwegian community most affected by

deportation, extinction and loss of half of the male population during the war. It was a slight consolation that, in comparison with the German revenge elsewhere, for example after the liquidation of the SS chief executive officer and Reichsprotektor Reinhardt Heydrich in Czechoslovakia, their reactions in Norway were relatively moderate.

Deportation of teachers

By the end of March 1942, approximately 1300 teachers were arrested in places scattered throughout the country, suspected of being at the forefront of the struggle against the Norwegian Nazi party and the Quisling government's attempt to enrol all teachers in the newly created corporative Norway Teachers' Union. At the same time, the German backed authorities aimed to impose service obligations for all persons aged 10 to 18 in their Youth League. Most of the approximately 14,000 teachers protested together with 200,000 parents in a letter to the Ministry of Church and Education, who at the same time had a conflict with the clergy. The attempt to break the opposition of the teacher prisoners with punishment drill gave small results, although many became seriously ill. On April 11, 500 teachers from Eastern Norway were marched from the camp at Jørstadmoen by Lillehammer to Fåberg railway station. Here a 17-hour train trip was waiting in congested wagons to Trondheim, while large crowds greeted them at the stations. On April 15, 50 German guards marched them aboard the coastal steamer Skjærstad, except one seriously ill teacher. The small ship was only intended for 150 passengers, but was sent northwards with passengers lacking everything: space, air, provision, nursing, etc. After stopping in Bodø and Tromsø they reached Kirkenes on April 28th; on the last leg the Germans used Skjærstad as a hostage to guard against possible allied attacks against a German convoy. From the harbour, they marched to barracks intended for Russian prisoners of war, getting food and water that caused a lot of disease (Christensen 1964, 86ff). On May 11, another 147 teachers came to Kirkenes with the coastal express ship Finmarken. The forced labour consisted mostly of road construction (also in Finland) and loading / unloading of ships for the front in Russia. In this connection, teacher Olav Hole died in an accident. Support from locals was important in the form of letters, gifts and meals by the road. When the schools reopened after the extra «fuel holiday» on 9 April, it became apparent that the Nazi plans to introduce corporatism built on professional organizations that the Quislings were unable to create due to lack of German support for a government that created con-

flicts with most people. At the same time, it became clear that the teachers in Kirkenes would suffer more than one loss of life if they met the winter under the prevailing conditions. During the autumn, the teachers were given a chance to sign a pro forma declaration of affiliation with the Teachers' Union and allowed to return to their homes. In retrospect, it should be stressed that the approximately 7000 Russian prisoners of war in the area were treated far worse, and about 2000 of them died.

The evacuation from Finnmark and North Troms provinces in 1944

The progress of the Red Army, the Finnish capitulation and the withdrawal of the Germans in the Nordic Arctic in the fall of 1944 became the background for the Germans causing the worst man-made disaster in Norwegian history. According to the census of 1930, Finnmark had a resident population of 53308, while the four northern Troms municipalities Kåfjord, Skjervøy, Nordreisa and Kvænangen had 10288. The 1940 population census was postponed to 1946, and then the affected areas had 58790 and 11939 inhabitants respectively. According to vital statistics, Finnmark had a birth surplus of 8898 in the period 1931-44, while the four municipalities in northern Troms had a birth surplus of about 1800. Even if the calculation of the population in 1944 does not take account of immigration and migration due to missing registers, it is clear that the northernmost areas of Norway experienced population decline.

The Norwegian and German Nazi authorities in October 1944 urged for voluntary evacuation of Finnmark's population, but mainly people who feared reprisals because of their Nazi contacts more than the dangerous journey southwards left. Only after Hitler ordered the use of force on October 28, the evacuation progressed, and the Germans used the tactics of scorched earth almost to perfection. They only saved some churches, and some buildings in East Finnmark that they could not get at due to the advancement of Russian troops. The eight volume *Norway at War* indicates that between 40,000 and 45,000 persons were evacuated and that between 20,000 and 25,000 resisted German orders and remained as "cavemen" (Eriksen and Halvorsen 1987). Other reports state that between 19000 and 23000 inhabitants managed to escape and stayed during the winter mainly near their homes in Eastern Finnmark liberated by the Red Army. This was partly due to the urge for civil disobedience sent by the Norwegian government in London and partly in fear of what Germans could do while evacuated at sea. An estimated 36817 people were evacuated from Finnmark, and in addition

to the 22730 remaining, the total amount was 2659 persons lower than the sum of the 1930s and the birth surplus until 1944. With a birth surplus in northern Troms of a few thousand in addition to the 1930 census population we have a population there of about 12300, which is close to the sum of over 12090 evacuated and 391 remaining. Especially in Finnmark, the numbers remain uncertain due to (illegal) refugees to Sweden and the Russian-controlled area in Eastern Finnmark, as well as German raids and arrests. The number of 25,000 persons remaining, cited from *Norway at war* is probably too high. However, the number of evacuated must have been higher than 45,000, a likely approximation is 49,000 persons. An additional uncertainty in North Troms is that some residents were also evacuated contrary to German plans from areas west of the Lyngen Fjord (Bratrein 1994). Persons evacuated should fill out individual registration cards, which make their numbers more certain than the sum of "cavemen" staying behind.

Out of the nearly 50,000 evacuated, about half remained in Northern Norway while the rest came to Eastern Norway or to Trøndelag in mid-Norway. Tromsø served as an over-populated intermediate harbour and many came there on their own boats. The weather this autumn was unusually benign without any autumn storm. This explains why few died during the evacuation. Arvid Petterson has investigated how many perished at the individual level. There are three main categories: those who died while they were forced to evacuate, those who died while they were "cavemen" due to illnesses and accidents, and those who died while they participated in the War in Finnmark 1944-1945. He lists a total of 339 persons before removing elderly people and is left with 280 who died directly as a result of the deportation and scorched earth tactics. Petterson believes that the number would be significantly higher if this type of survey had been made right after WWII. It has not yet been realistic to review all relevant sources such as the funeral lists in the church books, which are now being transcribed. The overview in the four volume *Our War Victims* is particularly inadequate when it comes to those who perished in or on their way from northern Norway in connection with forced evacuation. This is because the volumes were based on reports from the survivors, and these have been particularly underenumerated for northern Norway. Nevertheless, the 1946 population census is well matched by the sum of 1930 census figures and the birth surplus in the period between, so the real number of lives lost due to forced migration in the fall of 1944 needs hardly be significantly increased for source-critical reasons.

Historians disagree about the extent to which the government in London encouraged the forced evacuators to oppose the orders of the Germans. *Norway at War* has this comment: "However, neither at home nor abroad were the authorities sufficiently informed about the conditions in the north when they asked people to perform the impossible. An unarmed civilian population could in no way fight the 20th Gebirgsarmé and its 200,000 well-trained soldiers who had been assigned to carry out Hitler's order." Arvid Petterson documents that the Finnmark population had access to radio equipment to a significant extent. Thus, those evacuated by roads and at sea could convey information from London. There is, therefore, reason to believe that information from London contributed to the fact that many remained in caves etc, trying to oppose German orders at an early stage of the war. Initially, the parole to oppose German orders about evacuation, and to sabotage aid to those evacuated also created significant difficulties for the nearly 50,000 evacuated. Later, the Home Front and the London authorities understood that the paroles increase the stressful situation for those evacuated.

Net versus gross migration

Migration statistics often distinguish between gross migration, which in principle includes all changes of permanent residence, and net migration that includes change of residence since birth or another predetermined time such as marriage. Censuses typically inform us about whether a person lived in his parish of birth, but not about how many times he or she had changed address. Unless we can infer migration from other sources or the birthplaces of the children, the census usually provides net migration statistics only. From 1865 to 1950, the censuses were the main sources of knowledge about the volume of migration in Norway. The nominative census of 1801 did not include place of birth, and the enumerations from 1815 to 1855 were mainly only numeric, thus taken on the aggregated level without birthplaces or other information about migration. The lists of in- and out-migrants that the priests were instructed to include in the church books from 1812, are inadequate and contain only a fraction of the migrants, even those who moved long distances and could not easily obtain a migrant's pass at a later date. The priest would charge a fee for every pass, and contrary to baptism, marriage and burial, much migration in addition went unrecorded because it cannot be linked to ecclesiastical events.

To compensate to some extent for the undercount in the parish migration lists, Ståle Dyrvik proposed rules for the indirect dating of migration using other information at the individual level from the church books and census records (1983 159ff). The Historical Population Register, when it becomes more complete, will provide for the creation of statistics on gross migration before 1950. As long as we base the statistics on cross-sectional data from the censuses about birthplace and place of residence, the aggregates will be limited to migrants living in a parish or municipality on census day different from where they were born, i.e. net migration. Admittedly, card based population registers were introduced gradually in the towns from 1905 and in all rural municipalities from 1946, but these have not been used to develop migration statistics and are not data processed for statistical purposes (Thorvaldsen 2008). The Danish sources are similar to the Norwegian, but here the birthplace column was introduced in the nominative census already in the 1840s, as the first in the world (Johansen 2002). Danish municipal population registers became mandatory from 1925.

With the introduction of municipal registers throughout the country, it was mandatory from 1946 to send messages about migrants from municipality to municipality. In the 1946 Act on Population Registration, anyone who moved over a municipal boundary was required to obtain a mobility certificate for himself and his family and deliver it to the local Population Register no later than eight days after arrival to the new residence. These certificates were forwarded four times each year to Statistics Norway. This material was aggregated experimentally in 1947 and 1948, and from 1949 Statistics Norway computed detailed statistics about migration each year or for five-year periods (Statistics_ Norway 1956 page 7). While previous statistics relate to net migration (from birthplace to place of residence in the census), the country now for the first time had an overview of gross migration, i.e. in principle all migration that crossed a municipal boundary. Thus, Norway obtained a type of migration statistics that Sweden had already made during the 19th century on the basis of the catechismal records (Vikström 2003). Thus, with the introduction of population registers throughout the country, Statistics Norway from 1950 could identify individual step migration based on migration reports from the municipal registers. They nevertheless warned that the registration of the moving population was not perfect and that some migrants failed to report all stays over four months, so that a certain number of migration notes were missing (Statistics Norway 1965 184). This explains why *Historical Statistics 1994*

only covers gross migration since 1951 (Statistics Norway 1995 Table 3.29 page 94). At the same time, Statistics Norway dropped producing statistics on domestic net migration in the 1950 census, since it was only four years since the previous census and that gross statistics was considered a good replacement, including aggregates about immigrants. However, it is a pity that we do not have a net migration overview of the extent to which people left their birthplaces, after such a shattering period as the Second World War. Fortunately, the ongoing transcription of the 1950 census will soon allow us to present aggregates about net migration after the war.

Thus, the hundred-year period covered by this article is delimited by both empirical and source-based considerations. From 1865 to 1960, the population statistics based on the censuses can provide overviews of the number of net migration, while the introduction of the Central Population Register from 1967 provides easier access to data on gross migration. This is related to the introduction of electronic data processing in 1952 in Statistics Norway, which was prepared with electromechanical equipment from 1950. From 1960, people could buy a new car without a special permit, indicating that the post-war period was over, and allowing them to settle further away from the workplace, thus stressing the importance of detailed migration statistics.

Net migration between place of birth and residence in Norway

Statistics Norway summarized developments regarding permanent change of residence since 1865 in the publication of aggregates from the 1920s (Statistics Norway 1923). This summary was related to the publication of the overview of Norwegian overseas emigration (Ministry of Social Affairs, 1921), a context emphasized in publications on internal migration. The definition of residence was, of course, not the same from census to census. From 1875, Statistics Norway distinguished between permanent and temporary places of residence, while its forerunner, the Table Office in 1865 only counted the people at their formal (de jure) residence (Thorvaldsen 2004). In the latter case, all statistics was based on the resident population – those temporarily present were not enumerated. For unknown reasons, Statistics Norway provided population numbers for the present (de facto) population as the basis of the migration statistics from the census of 1875 to 1910, while in 1920 again chose the de jure or resident population. In general, the difference between the number of people formally and actually present was not big at the national level, a half or a couple of percentage points in 1875 and

1920 respectively. But the difference was larger in some municipalities, for example with large fishing populations. Also, the definition of birthplace municipality has weaknesses. Controls against the church books show deviations between the place where a person was baptized and the place of birth specified in the census, and the deviations can only be explained to some extent by disparities between the parish and municipal boundaries. The many municipality border changes during the period may affect the indication of birthplace to the extent that persons were registered with a municipality that had ceased to exist at the time of the census and might have been merged with the municipality of residence after his or her birth (Thorvaldsen 1996a). Statistics Norway returned to the analysis of "migrations" at the national level after the transition to statistics based on gross migration (1965).

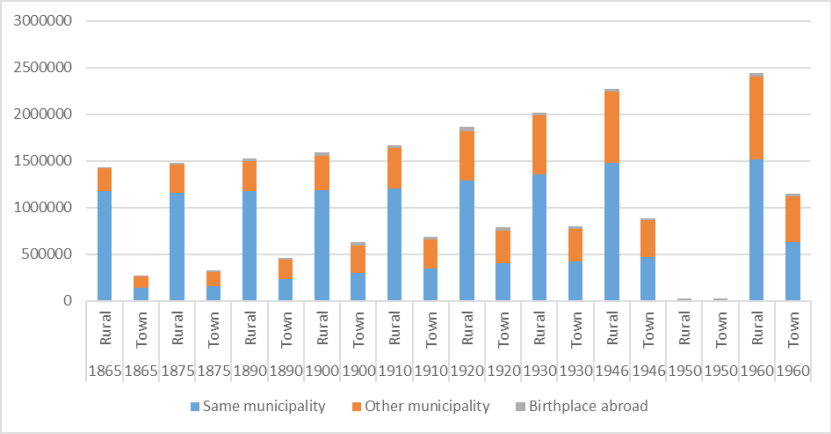

Figure 2. Place of birth in residential municipality, other municipality or abroad 1865–1960

The trend in the evolution of migration at the national level, as shown in Figure 2, is nevertheless feasible. The figure distinguishes between urban and rural municipalities according to the formal urban status criterion that was used throughout the period, indicating for each municipality type how many inhabitants who were born in the municipality of residence, in other Norwegian municipalities and abroad. The latter category was still small; it was typically less than a tenth of the migrants and was falling from the turn of the century following a slight increase in the late 1800s. The urban population grew from about ¼ to

over one million inhabitants throughout the period, more due to migration than several small towns receiving urban status during the period. The proportion of in-migrants increased in both urban and rural municipalities, and the relative increase was greatest in rural municipalities. In addition, the internal migration had an indirect fertility effect because many of the migrants were young and a short period after moving, gave birth to children.

Conclusion

This article attempts to summarize important aspects of internal migration in Norway from 1865 to 1960. Earlier than this period, mapping internal migration is difficult because the censuses lacked a column for birthplace, and the in-/out-migration lists included in the church books from 1812 only contain a small part of the actual migrants. From the 1960s, the construction of a Central Population Register facilitated the computing of *gross* migration statistics, meaning that the unit counted was every move across an administrative boundary resulting in a new permanent address. This was attempted already from the late 1940s, but the municipality based population registers missed much migration. Thus, from 1865 to 1960 the main statistical series was about net migration, using the birthplace and place of residence information in the decadal censuses to measure *net* migration. These aggregates show that men more often than women were migration pioneers, especially over longer distances. But by 1920 it was as usual for women as for men to be internal migrants in Norway. The censuses are also the main sources for tracking specific flows of migration, especially from landlocked parishes in southern Norway to less densely settled areas in the north, particularly in the valleys of Målselv and Bardu south-east of Tromsø. These flows can be regarded as forerunners of migration from the eastern part of Finnmark to the Kola Peninsula in the decades around 1900, which of course must be classified as emigration.

More dramatic cases of geographic mobility took place during World War II, when the Nazi authorities launched several cases of forced migration. The population of Telavåg south-west of Bergen was punished in 1942 by resettling women and children to the fjords further east, while the adult men were sent to concentration camps in Germany and their houses burnt. Hundreds of teachers were at the same time sent into forced labour at Kirkenes by the Russian border to make them accept membership in the corporate Nazi trade union. They accepted in

order to return home, but this remained a formality with no practical consequences. Most catastrophic was the evacuation of nearly 50 000 persons from the northernmost provinces of Finnmark and Troms when the Germans used scorched earth tactics to stop the advancing Red Army in the autumn of 1944. These more special cases of migration cannot be studied in detail in censuses or church records, we rather depend on interviews and publications by the people involved in such geographic mobility.

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